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Interesting. Pls
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2 November 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Analysis Group; Chief Production Group;
 VIA: Chief, USSR/Europe Division Chief, ELAAD
 Chief, East Europe Branch Chief, East Europe Branch
 FROM: 25X1
 SUBJECT: Trip Report, 22 September-23 October 1987

During our 22 September-23 October TDY, we visited the FBIS bureaus in London and Austria where we gained a first-hand understanding of bureau operations and updated bureau personnel on AG's recent efforts to streamline collection requirements. While in London we also had a very useful exchange of views with the Polish expert in the Foreign Office and made arrangements to send FBIS Trends and Analysis Reports to him. During the second part of our trip we visited Hungary and Poland. In Budapest we discussed FBIS's analytical and research capabilities with embassy officers and compared notes on current Soviet and East European political and economic reforms. During our three-week tour of Poland we visited six major Polish cities (Warsaw, Lublin, Krakow, Wroclaw, Poznan, Gdansk) and called on 15 editorial offices of some of the most influential Polish newspapers, journals, and magazines. We also met with State Department officers in Warsaw, Krakow, and Poznan and contacted former friends at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow and the National Archives in Warsaw.

I. VISITS TO FBIS BUREAUS

LONDON, 22-28 September

1. The primary purpose of our visit to the London bureau was to familiarize ourselves with bureau and BBC procedures and observe at first hand the differences between the London and Austria bureaus. One of the highlights of our visit was a lengthy discussion with about the operation of the Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB) and his impressions of East European media content. 25X1

2. We spent the better part of an afternoon at PMU discussing the coordination and streamlining of Polish provincial press coverage. In order to improve coverage of the large number of Polish provincial papers handled by the bureau, we encouraged the monitor to spend more time processing items from selected papers--the ones who have been most productive in the past--and less time on scanning. We agreed that the less productive papers should be read on a time-available basis, except at the time of key events such as party plena, congresses, or elections. We encouraged the monitor to inform FBIS Production and Analysis Groups of noteworthy provincial press articles that she had no time to process. In order to further improve the provincial press coverage better coordination between London, Austria and Reston is needed.

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3. With the help of the U.S. embassy in London we met with [] the Polish analyst at the Foreign Office. During our two-hour session at the East European Section Research Department, also attended by [] we compared notes about current Polish developments and focused on particular issues, including Jaruzelski's relations with the Soviets, prospects for reform, and national reconciliation. We found [] extremely knowledgeable and interesting, and made arrangements with [] the FBIS representative at the London embassy to forward AG products to the East European Research Section. [] in turn gave us a copy of his recent appraisal of Polish media developments.

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Austria, 28-30 September

1. Austria bureau proved an interesting contrast to London bureau. We spent most of our time discussing East European coverage and developments with each of the monitoring sections. We found the monitors most anxious to hold "warm" and "comradely" talks with visiting FBIS analysts. At the same time, discussions about requirements tended to be "frank" and without "full convergence of views." We generally found most sections frustrated by the voluminous material and the long shopping list of collection requirements. All monitors welcomed and, indeed, asked for improved guidance from FBIS headquarters concerning collection requirements, translation questions, and heads-up cables.

2. We spent a great deal of time discussing current economic and political developments in Eastern Europe and how they affect coverage. All monitors appeared receptive to our proposals and shared their valuable insights about their respective areas of expertise. The experience was extremely useful and gratifying, and particularly the time spent with chief monitor [] who outlined bureau operations and monitor-editor relations.

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3. Before departing the bureau we sought Bureau Chief [] approval to sound out the U.S. embassy in Warsaw about the possibility of []

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II. VISIT TO EASTERN EUROPE

Budapest, 30 September-2 October

1. Our two day visit to Budapest was as useful for the visual comparison between Hungary and Poland as it was for the conversations with Embassy officials. Of Moscow's close East European allies, Poland and Hungary have taken the lead in experimenting with political and economic reforms and our consultations with embassy officers and walking tour of Budapest gave us valuable insights into the Hungarian economic situation.

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2. Embassy officers expressed great appreciation for FBIS coverage of the Hungarian media and specifically cited bureau coverage of the 16-19 September session of the National Assembly and Production Group's selection of samizdat literature. The embassy's political section noted that the 8 July 1987 Trends article on the leadership reshuffle was used by the embassy as a "guide."

Poland, 2-24 October

1. After our arrival at the Warsaw Embassy on 2 October we met with [redacted] Political Counselor David Pozorski, Public Affairs Officer Steven Dubrow, and Deputy Chief of Mission David Swartz. The embassy officers enthusiastically supported our proposal to call on Polish editorial offices and were instrumental in arranging appointments in Warsaw. The embassy's political section requested that we give a briefing based on our interviews and observations prior to our departure--which we did on 23 October.

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2. Political Counselor David Pozorski showered praise on FBIS translations and analysis of Polish media, stating that the FBIS product is "by far the most useful tool of all the branches of the U.S. Government." According to Pozorski the analysis of the diverse Polish media is a demanding task but nevertheless a very productive means of comprehending the Polish political scene. The sincerity of his statements appeared to be underscored by his office decor; although spacious by FBIS standards, the entire office area was deluged by a great variety of Polish publications.

3. We discussed with Public Affairs Officer Dubrow FBIS's interest in Polish television video coverage and conveyed Austria Bureau Chief [redacted] offer to provide funds for equipment and salary to record Polish television programs in Warsaw. According to Dubrow, the Warsaw Embassy Press and Cultural Section already has the equipment and is taping some Polish television programs for internal embassy use. Although he saw no major obstacles to cooperation with FBIS on this project, he nevertheless refused to say that we had an "agreement in principle" until after he "had a chance to discuss it" [redacted]. Unfortunately, [redacted] left temporarily on emergency leave before such a meeting could take place.

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4. When I mentioned my unsuccessful attempt to secure an invitation to fill a position at the Warsaw embassy's political section during the summer of 1987, [redacted] and political counselor Pozorski replied that the embassy was not aware of my proposal. Both officers expressed firm interest in the idea and encouraged me to try again next summer, stating that the political section "will do all it can on this end" to secure the services of an FBIS analyst with Polish language skills and "thorough knowledge of the country."

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Appointments With Editors in Warsaw, Krakow, Wroclaw, Poznan, Gdansk

5. With the help of the Warsaw Embassy and the Krakow and Poznan consulates we were able to schedule 15 interviews with editors of some of the most influential and widely read journals in Warsaw, Krakow, Wroclaw, Poznan, and Gdansk. Since we wanted to get a representative sample of Polish journalism, we requested appointments at both liberal and conservative official journals as well as the independent Catholic weeklies sanctioned by the church and Catholic publications under direct jurisdiction of the local dioceses. We secured appointments with the following editors:

Warsaw:

Foreign Editor Witold Pawlowski of a liberal party weekly POLITYKA.
 Editor-in-chief Andrzej Dobrzanski and Deputy Editor Eugeniusz Piontek representing the lawyers' weekly PRAWO I ZYCIE.
 Deputy Editors Jan Ruranski and Henry Jablonowski of liberal party weekly PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY.
 Editor-in-chief Jerzy Pardus of a conservative party weekly RZECZYWISTOSC.
 Deputy Editor Andrzej of Malanowski of the official trade union weekly ZWIAZKOWIEC.
 Foreign Editor Ryszard Bankowicz of a Warsaw party daily ZYCIE WARSZAWY.
 Editor-in-chief Jerzy Skwara and Deputy Editor Maciej Marek Letowski of an independent Catholic weekly LAD.
 Foreign Editor Janusz Reiter of the Warsaw Archdiocese weekly PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI.

Krakow:

Secretary Lech Kmietowicz and Deputy Editor Wieslaw Kolarz representing the Krakow party daily GAZETA KRAKOWSKA.
 Deputy Editor Wacek Kaczmarczyk of a socio-cultural weekly PRZEKROJ.
 Deputy Editor Krzysztof Kozlowski of an independent Catholic weekly TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY.
 Editor-in-chief Wladyslaw Machejek of a conservative party weekly ZYCIE LITERACKIE.

Wroclaw:

Editor-in-chief Ignacy Rutkiewicz and Deputy Editor Urszula Koziol of a liberal socio-cultural monthly ODRA.

Poznan:

Editor-in chief Father Zbigniew Pawlak and Deputy Editor Father Marek Jedraszewski of the Poznan diocese weekly PRZEWODNIK KATOLICKI.

Gdansk:

Editor-in-chief Father Wieslaw Lauer and Deputy Editors Ewa Gorska and Maria Mrozinska of the Gdansk diocese weekly GWIAZDA MORZA.

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6. In most of the editorial offices we were cordially received by the editor-in-chief accompanied by one of his deputy editors. We asked routine questions about the paper's circulation and distribution, number of staff journalists, editors' background, and the history of the paper etc. We then inquired about the journal's editorial line and moved on to specific issues, including the extent of press freedom in Poland, prospects for economic and political reforms, the impact of Soviet "perestroika" on Polish politics, and press treatment of controversial issues in Soviet-Polish history--the so called "blank spots."

7. Our conversations with the editors were greatly facilitated by the fact that the interviews were conducted in Polish and we could discuss specific articles that appeared in past issues of the paper. When our interlocutors realized that we were knowledgeable about the issues raised by their journals, they became considerably more forthcoming; thus meetings scheduled for an hour frequently stretched up to three hours. Indeed, we received numerous invitations to continue discussions over dinner and sometimes took advantage of the opportunity. Editors of provincial journals seemed particularly flattered that we chose to include them on our itinerary and some indicated that this was their first contact with American officials. Many editors gave us complimentary issues of their paper and the editors of the Gdansk diocese weekly *Gwiazda Morza* provided us with samples of articles either rejected or heavily edited by the censors. As a general rule, representatives of the official press expressed concern about maintaining their position on the "oversaturated press market" and some admitted to printing nude photographs in an effort to attract more readers. On the other hand, Catholic editors complained about their disproportionately inadequate access to paper supplies and sought to make clear that there is a demand for more independent press.

Press Freedom

8. The majority of Warsaw editors representing the official press sought to underscore the presence of a "great liberalization trend" in the Polish media since the spring of 1987. Some argued that in recent months journalists have enjoyed virtually unrestricted freedom to write about such formerly restricted topics as economic shortcomings, environmental pollution (including cross border pollution from Czechoslovakia and the GDR), crime, alcoholism, and drug addiction. At the same time, many editors acknowledged that articles questioning the socialist system, the Polish-Soviet alliance, the role of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in local administration, and the role of the political opposition are still "taboo."

9. Catholic press editors were less enthusiastic about the extent of press freedom. Janusz Reiter, the foreign editor of the Warsaw archdiocese weekly *Przegląd Katolicki*, for example, characterized his

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paper's relationship with the government censors as "more relaxed" than in the past but stated that censorship is still "rigorous and unpredictable." According to Reiter, the authorities are engaged in a precarious balancing act, on the one hand allowing more open debate in the press because it is a "safety valve" but on the other hand seeking to limit the scope of press freedom for fear that it will ultimately threaten the party's authority. He added that in the final analysis the "overinflation" of words may be counterproductive for, despite allowing journalists to raise sensitive issues, the authorities have failed to adopt "concrete solutions." Krzysztof Kozlowski, the deputy editor of Krakow's catholic weekly Tygodnik Powszechny, was even more pessimistic, saying that while there are "improvements" in the work of the censor, there is no "genuine liberalization." He credited the current "thaw" to society's "constant and steady" pressure on the government and added that by tolerating more debate, the party is merely trying to keep up with developments rather than to lead the way.

Economic and Political Reforms

10. During our discussions it became very clear that there existed significant differences of opinion concerning prospects for economic and political reforms in Poland. Some editors appeared sincerely optimistic about the most recent round of reform initiatives while others were highly skeptical. Representatives of official party organs such as Gazeta Krakowska characterized the October 1987 shakeup of the Council of Ministers and the unprecedented public referendum scheduled for 29 November as an "earthquake" and proof of the leadership's intention to fundamentally revise the structure and functioning of the economy. At the same time, enthusiasts of the government-sponsored reforms appeared considerably less optimistic about prospects for political reforms. The editors of Prawo i Zycie argued, for example, that economic reforms must take precedence over political reforms in the short run and that it will take at least 25 years before drastic changes in the political system can be expected.

11. This interpretation was challenged by the vast majority of Catholic and liberal weekly editors who pointed to a variety of subjective and objective obstacles to economic reforms and argued that the government plan is likely to fail if it ignores meaningful political change. In the most comprehensive appraisal we heard, the foreign editor of the liberal weekly Polityka, Witold Pawlowski, argued that political concessions are essential to win public participation for the reform process and to overcome the widespread crisis of confidence in the authorities. Blaming state policies for the "economic demoralization" of the country, Pawlowski asserted that the word "reform" has already been compromised in Poland by much rhetoric and little action and added that economic reforms instituted after martial law failed because Jaruzelski pursued a "utopian" dream of attempting economic reforms without political concessions. He said that the average citizen is suspicious and reluctant to get involved and that Poles equate reforms with price

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hikes and a declining standard of living. Pawlowski contended that political concessions are all the more necessary because, if adopted, the "second stage of reform" will spell even more economic hardships for the working class and may lead to open protest. Nevertheless, he was highly skeptical that the authorities are ready to converse with the opposition, saying that "communist leaders are not accustomed to sharing power." Janusz Reiter of Przegląd Katolicki acknowledged that the current system "has lost its drive" and is searching for new solutions but noted that the party leadership is wary of seeking accommodation with the opposition for fear of upsetting the status quo. Henryk Jablonowski of Przegląd Tygodniowy was even more pessimistic, questioning the government's ability to find the managerial staff capable of implementing the reform measures and overcoming bureaucratic opposition to reform.

12. Thinly veiled contempt for the latest round of reforms was voiced by the editors of conservative party journals, such as Warsaw's Rzeczywistosc and Krakow's Zycie Literackie. The editor-in-chief of Rzeczywistosc, Jerzy Pardus, made clear his anxiety about recent "attempts to glorify capitalism" and expressed concern that the planned expansion of the private sector may in fact undermine socialism in Poland. According to Pardus, the essence of socialism demands that "everyone be given an equal start" and the socialist state by definition must guard against the return of "wolfish capitalism" and refrain from making laws that "encourage thievery and speculation." The chief editor of Zycie Literackie, Wladyslaw Machejek, ridiculed official talk of "stages of reform and democracy." He argued instead that Poland needs a "strong ruler" to get its house in order. However, Machejek seemed to rule out Jaruzelski, saying that the Polish leader is surrounded by "foolish advisors" who ruined the cultural and agricultural sectors. "It is not enough to take off uniforms" he said, but quickly added: "Don't write this down. I really have nothing against the general, just the fools around him."

Soviet Developments Under Mikhail Gorbachev

13. Virtually all editors we spoke with agreed that Soviet "perestroika" has provided the Polish authorities with greater maneuvering room to experiment with reforms in Poland. At the same time, there were differences of opinion as to whether or not the Polish leadership has fully taken advantage of the opportunities presented by the situation. The deputy editor of Prawo i Zycie, Eugeniusz Piontek, praised Soviet developments because they gave new impetus to Polish reforms and he claimed that Gorbachev's agenda has "deprived domestic dogmatists of all arguments." Noting that Polish affairs for the past 45 years have been greatly influenced by the situation in the Soviet Union, Polityka's Witold Pawlowski said that current Soviet developments provide the best opportunity for economic and political liberalization in Eastern Europe.

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14. Although they agreed that Gorbachev's reforms have indirectly furthered Polish national interests, Catholic editors argued that the Polish leadership is slow to take advantage of the trend. Reiter of Przegląd Katolicki argued that the authorities seem content to point out that Polish reforms preceded Soviet reforms and developed independently of changes in the USSR rather than pressing for more extensive and more rapid changes in Poland. Kozłowski of Tygodnik Powszechny pronounced Gorbachev to be a "great hope" for Poland and said that Tygodnik Powszechny has adopted the tactic of "blackmailing" the Polish authorities with Gorbachev. He explained that his paper often goes out of the way to praise Soviet innovations in an effort to push Polish authorities into action.

D. Blank Spots in Soviet-Polish History

15. Most journalists seemed to minimize their role in the ongoing historical review of Polish-Soviet relations initiated by Gorbachev and Jaruzelski during their April 1987 meeting in Moscow. Some editors admitted that they are encouraged to publicly praise the decision to expose the controversial episodes in bilateral history, such as the notorious Katyn massacre during World War II, but were unable to print an independent interpretation or commentary on the subject. Others, such as the editors of Prawo i Życie, distanced themselves from the issue, asserting that "expectations are greater than the ability to print the truth" and that their paper "deals only with facts." The editors of Gwiazda Morza explained that the scope of debate is "tightly controlled by the top" and showed us an article that was rejected by the censor because it dared to question the circumspect nature of the press debate. Machejek of Życie Literackie concurred, stating that his recent commentary exploring Khrushchev's alleged offer in 1956 to expose Soviet responsibility for Katyn has also become a "subject of negotiation" with the censor. Machejek ventured a guess that the final outcome of the historical review "has not yet been settled in Moscow." When asked whether such efforts as the historical review could reorient Polish journalists from their traditionally Western to an Eastern outlook, the editor of a popular cultural weekly Przekrój defiantly replied that "we always try to use the best material no matter what the political climate" and added that "our record speaks for itself."

Other Contacts and Observations

16. In addition to discussions with embassy officials and visits to the editorial offices, we drove over 3,000 kilometers in Poland and called on former friends and acquaintances along the way. Our visits to the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, National Archives in Warsaw and the homes of university professors, scholars, workers, and pensioners provided us with valuable insights into changes that have taken place in Poland since our last stay in 1979-1981.

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17. In recent years the standard of living of most Poles appears to have declined, and much more of their energy is now consumed by the struggle for economic survival. Although we noticed significant improvements in the availability of foodstuffs and consumer products, most goods are prohibitively expensive. Pensioners and intellectuals have been particularly hard hit by the inflationary spiral while bluecollar workers in large industrial enterprises appear to have fared better. For example, a welder at the Lenin steelworks in Nowa Huta confided that he felt sorry for some workers in the plant who "made as little as" 50,000 zloty per month while, at the same time, an instructor at the Krakow Mining Academy stated that he was lucky to earn such a salary even if he took additional work home. A retired steelworker who also receives a disability pension said his monthly income totals only 20,000. (20,000 zloty buys three tankfuls of gasoline on the black market). At the same time, a new wealthy class has emerged--individuals who either have access to hard currency as the result of protracted stays in the West or private entrepreneurs who operate small but lucrative businesses, such as boutiques, flower and vegetable hothouses, or auto repair shops.

18. Some items (particularly meat, medicines, gasoline, auto parts, washers, and television sets) are in short supply and Poles continue to rely on an intricate system of connections, favors, and bribes to secure these products. There has been a proliferation of hard currency (Pewex) stores where Poles are able to purchase many Western "luxury" products including hams and toilet seats. The fact that most Pewexes are just as crowded as regular Polish stores during merchandise delivery suggests that the liberal policies of granting passports for "tourist" visits to the West are bearing green-colored fruit.

19. Lack of housing for the young is a very pressing social and political problem. Most young people expressed great frustration with the 20-year waiting period for apartments and pointed to the tension and conflicts experienced by young married couples who are forced to live and raise children in their parents' apartments. In one home we visited, there were four generations living under the same roof, or more precisely seven people in three rooms with one small kitchen and a bathroom. Despite some signs of new construction in the countryside, the housing situation in small towns and villages seems inadequate. At the same time, most Poles are very defensive about the many new churches that have sprouted all over the countryside.

20. While in 1980 and 1981 most of our friends were active in Solidarnosc and optimistic about the possibility of changing the system, this time we observed that most Poles appear skeptical about the future and tend to channel their energy toward their immediate circle of family and friends. The more enterprising individuals are leaving their jobs in the official economy to open private businesses. Their cautious approach

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to politics is not motivated by fear of the authorities but seems to be conditioned by disillusionment with past, unsuccessful efforts at political change. The often-cited characterization of Poles in the Western press as "apathetic" is misleading and should be "politically dormant." We observed, for example, that many of our friends continue to take a keen interest in current domestic and world developments by listening to Western radio broadcasts, reading the prolific underground literature, and reading the official press between-the-lines. Nevertheless, most Poles will probably adopt a wait-and-see attitude to any reform agenda and will be most skeptical about programs suggested by Polish leadership.

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